22 /366/ Natural conditions have an overwhelming effect in shaping and determining the form of the material culture of the Yamana. This is equally true of the neighboring Selk'nam /Ona/ (Vol. I, 192). Since the indispensable conditions for gardening and farming, as well as for animal husbandry, are lacking, they can only be simple gatherers or hunters with a nonsedentary way of life. They practice the nomadism of a people at home on the water and along the shores. Less than fishermen, more than hunters or gatherers, they are engaged in obtaining food and are, therefore, appropriately referred to as "water nomads." Almost all day long they travel in their canoes along the intricate water channels or hunt on the shore. When they are not doing that, they squat in the hut, which is always erected on the shore near the water line. Only occasionally and for special purposes do they leave the shore and push inland to the center of the island. The surface of the water and the narrow strip of coast are the field of action and the sphere of life for the Yamana. Whatever they encounter here in the form of plants and animals determines their economic activity and is indispensable for their standard of living. The large sea mammals, the indigenous species of seals and whales, play the most important role. Sea otters and sea birds are no less important. Finally, from among the lower animals, nothing could rival the mussels and large crabs. Hunting and gathering these things constitute the chief part of the economic activity of the Yamana. [262] The vegetable kingdom offers practically nothing, hence our natives rely exclusively on a meat diet.

•422 The vegetable kingdom and the products of the hunt furnish the raw materials for their property in goods. As a matter of principle, these possessions are of such a nature that they not only do not impede unrestricted wandering, but assure the acquisition of everything needed for subsistence and, above all, facilitate hunting and gathering. All their property is limited to what is absolutely essential. As such, this is so little that a demanding, civilized human being marvels at such perfected self-sufficiency. This is a result of the fact that every item beyond the limit of what is indispensable would be a burden that would become more grievously oppressive the longer one carried it around.

342 Preparedness for uninterrupted movement precludes fixed dwellings from the outset, either in the form of individual establishments or community settlements. A loose, carelessly constructed hut served as shelter for a night or for a few days.

/366 cont./

serves as shelter for a night or for a few days. Clothing, ornaments, and household furnishings could scarcely be scantier or more modest. Weapons and implements in their very simplicity, which is surprising, give evidence of much inventive intelligence. Whatever a person needs, he knows how to make and to obtain. In the matter of providing for his subsistence, everyone is on his own and /367/ is master of his environment. Trades have not developed, and the fundamental equality of all persons has likewise prevented the rise of social stratification. One and the same justice applies to all. Everyone enjoys complete independence from others, which is why only the uniformity of customs and habits, language, and racial characteristics provides the outer and inner bond that unites all the Yamana into an ethnic entity.

The Yamana way of life as water nomads has without doubt contributed somewhat to the peculiar shape of their bodies. To what extent this is an advantage to them cannot be discussed here. Their small stature is all the more conspicuous since their neighbors, the Selk'nam, together with the Tehuelche on the mainland, have the tallest stature among all South American Indians. Our Yamana, however, are not only small, but in addition to this they are not very symmetrically developed (p. 214 /untranslated/). A broad, sturdy body with exceedingly strong musculature on the chest and arms rests on weak, thin legs. Excessive breadth is much more noticeable among the women than among the men, and among the former we come across plump figures much more often than among the latter. A total lack of simple grooming, generally coarse features, their perplexed facial expression, and unkempt hair complete the unprepossessing picture of the Yamana Indians. Almost all European travelers, not without ample reason, have expressed thoroughly unfavorable judgments about the physique of our natives (p. 214 /untranslated/). Undeniably, however, they enjoy abundant health and have an unbelievable resistance which enables them to overcome all the hardships of their frosty home and has secured the undiminished continuance of their people for centuries. True, the Yamana will always be the loser in a contest with other racial groups for physical beauty, but the suitability of his body for the rigors of his way of life and the unfavorableness of his environment is unrivaled. In many respects he is well adapted to his home.

/455 cont./

396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hákua, the latter Een-ánan [better kísajánan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

504 /456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 462 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She 462 502 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

/457 cont./

396 462 [422] Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wáalina is used for a man [476] who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (q):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /503/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. [422 462] They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čaɯwénux̣, čaɯwénnuš, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[824]

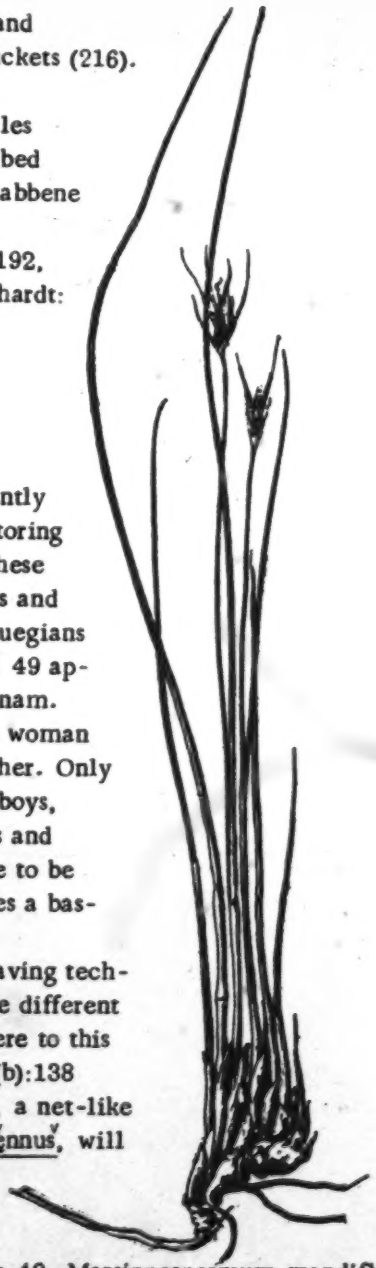

Fig. 49. Marsipposperma grandiflorum.

/564 cont./

231 large fox, which was only somewhat smaller. Fred Lawrence described him as similar to those dogs that Europeans had brought along for journeys through the south polar regions. Long before, Webster had declared of the Fuegian dog, "he is very ferocious, and not unlike an Esquimaux dog" /cited in English/ (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/).

At this point I do not as yet wish to express my own view of the origin of the /565/ Fuegian dog (323). Instead, let me add

> 323. In Volume I, 95, I had indicated that I would give a final opinion about the origin and development of the Fuegian dog only after I had described the domestic dog of the Halakwulup in Volume III. In Volume I, 276, I briefly described the dog of the Selk'nam according to its zoological characteristics.

that the Yamana do not seem to have any understanding at all of how to breed a special type; in any case they do not go in for it. Hence their animals reproduce erratically, as chance brings them together. According to Kuenckel:138, the Fuegians as a whole "do not have sufficient intelligence to practice methodical selection, they let nature take its course and assert its rights; actually, the dog which is their companion is savage like themselves" /translated from French/.

We have already briefly mentioned the place of the dog in the Indian family. Every family owns several dogs, from three to [422] eight, and each one is regarded as the property of either the man or the woman, or some other person. To have a dog as common property of all the members of the family would be an impossible idea to the Yamana. Many travelers agree in their opinion that the Fuegian has an unmistakable affection for his dogs. From a very early period comes the observation of Captain Snow (a):I, 349: "I also noticed that their dogs claimed a large share of affection" /cited in English/. They belong to the family as a matter of course (324). If one knows the Indian well, one realizes that he

> 324. Hyades (b):1343 says: "The dog is part

X881 182 /825 cont./ Even the Indians, however, always regard it as a disturbance if the thread is broken, and they only yield to the force of necessity or of greater benefits.

Although generally unpredictable external circumstances convened the festival, winter was preferred as the most suitable time of year for it. People were more settled then, which was brought about by economic conditions./826/ They were happy to interrupt this boring, monotonous way of life with the čiexaus and to enjoy it fully. In summer, on the other hand, only a few people would have been able to tolerate crouching in the Great Hut uninterruptedly for many weeks. In reality, these Fuegians do not have fixed rules for the occurrence of an initiation and its duration, any more than do their nearest neighbors to the northwest, the Halakwulup.

2. Long-range Preparation

X881 All persons who unite in the čiexaus must, of course, submit to the single purpose behind its regulations and organization. The general decrees are sacred traditions and are binding for everyone. The presiding overseer sees to it that every participant submits to the unwritten laws. Everyone regards this occasion much too seriously to dream of offending against a single obligation, but someone might accidentally transgress from carelessness or natural negligence, whereupon the vigilance of the overseer must be shown. There are no special privileges for individual adults, any more than there are exceptions for this or that candidate.

X881 422 Every participant retains his absolute property rights over the utensils or implements he brings along to the Great Hut. Anyone who has a long strap with which to capture the candidates offers it for the entire period of the festival, but takes it back again afterwards. Only the small painted panels which are hung up in the Great Hut are regarded as belonging to it. The person who made them and hung them there loses his own right to them; after the festival no one would think of taking one of these small ornamental tablets for his own use.

X881 In view of the strictness with which the prevailing decrees are observed and honored, one can confidently assume that they

/967 cont./

421 of his weapons, the woman of her little baskets, and the child of his ornaments, each one emphasizing his unlimited right of disposal, but each of them can only speak of "our hut," for it belongs jointly to the members of the same family. The designations for the right of ownership in the two cases are different.

a. Personal Possessions

422 At every turn the careful observer comes up against the unequivocal determination with which every Indian lays absolute claim to his personal possessions and defends them against misappropriation and damage. He regards himself as the exclusive master and owner of certain things to which other persons have no right. He alone disposes of them according to his own free will or he loans them for temporary use to a person who urgently requests them and pledges to return them. No one presumes to lay hands on the personal possessions of someone else, unless he is a thief.

It is easy to determine what belongs to the individual, because no one overloads himself with possessions and because /968/ clear, definite legal titles are behind them. Moreover, it follows from the nature of the simple economy of the Yamana that one person possesses no more, essentially, than another of his fellow-tribesmen. Finally, the little that one person carries with him is quite openly exposed to view and can easily be observed by his neighbors (382).

382. Bridges, in (i):22 and in MM:III, 115; 1869, listed the total number of objects that constitute "a Yahgan's property" /cited in English/. He does not mention which is the special property of the man, the woman, and the children.

Fully aware of having a general and actual right to the possession of his own things, everyone guards what he has with obvious jealousy. It takes forms that are incomprehensible to us, especially when someone owns things of European origin, for these

/968 cont./

422 more strongly provoke people to theft. Bridges describes with striking accuracy the concern of the Yamana for their few possessions: "The begging and stealing propensities of the natives discourage laying up stores of fuel or food, and engender slyness. When they sell skins or other things to us, they aim to do so unknown to their fellows, in order to keep what they receive to themselves. Thus they secrete what they bring under their clothes, or hide it near by, till obnoxious observers and waylayers have departed. Again, if they have any supply, they cannot keep it in their own possession, and so they leave it with us. A great powerful fellow lately bought some biscuit; he wished me very much to keep it for him. Twice or thrice a day this man came to our door, and would take out three or four biscuits at a time, and always watched for opportunities to time his visits privately. Before leaving our door he invariably concealed the little he used to take. As the man with his biscuit above-mentioned, so with those who have swedes; daily, or several times a day, will they come for two or three. The people here cannot leave the canoe furniture in the canoes for fear of theft, and so have to be constantly taking backwards and forwards paddles, spears, and every trifle" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218; 1875).

Each one claims for himself the sole use of everything that he possesses in the way of property. One can most clearly recognize what belongs to an individual on the basis of this attitude (383).

> 383. Cooper:179 cites the following from the direct experience of reliable observers: "The sense of ownership of personal property, such as the spoils of the chase, artifacts, and the movable windshield or hut, is clearly marked, and the right definitely recognized" /cited in English/.

It is easy to keep separate the personal belongings of each member of the family. The man owns only what he wears and carries in his hand, that is to say, his clothing and his even more unpretentious body ornaments, as well as his weapons and the tools with which he makes them. Raw materials that he obtained for

/968 cont./

422 himself to use in making things also belong to him, such as sticks for shafts, tendons for cords, and the rib bones of whales for spear points. Finally /969/ his property consists of such objects as he has made for barter and which he saves for a suitable opportunity. His dogs and the live birds that he has caught and kept with him must not be forgotten. A Yamana man finds these few and very simple earthly goods sufficient for his way of life and his happiness.

The woman is not much richer. She does, however, own a greater number of smaller objects, whereas the man has a few substantial pieces which he calls his own. Her belongings consist of what she needs to cover and to ornament her body, furthermore a small basket or so in which she keeps small artifacts, such as fish-hooks, fire implements, pouch for pigments, knife, scraper, strap, etc., and finally the mussel breaker and the long crab fork, although these two articles were made by her husband. Nowadays she also carries from one place to another the tin dishes, cloth garments, and all kinds of trifles that she obtains from the Whites.

[858] From its early years the child, like its father and mother, disposes of his own possessions, which include clothing and ornaments, playthings, and all the tame animals that were given to him for his amusement. There is no lack of examples from olden and modern times which clearly show that even the parents do not consider themselves entitled to dispose of some article belonging to the child without his consent (384).

384. Relying on several written sources, Cooper:179 comes to the conclusion that "women and children have well recognized property rights" /cited in English/. -- The same conditions hold no less strictly for children's right of ownership among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 432) and the Halakwulup.

[171]

It follows naturally from this segregation of goods that no one may arbitrarily dispose of something that belongs to another. Whenever Europeans wanted to trade for some object and approached the wrong person about it, they were always referred to the real owner. Fitz-Roy (a):76, 237 definitely became acquainted with

/969 cont./

422 this method of procedure by our Yamana on two occasions. Once he bartered tobacco with a man for a dog, but since the dog belonged to the man's wife, she forced Fitz-Roy to give the animal back to her. Snow (b):264 also confirms from his own experience: "I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it" /cited in English/.

Every Yamana is completely free to take good care of his property or to neglect it completely. No one even prevents him from wantonly destroying his things. If he lacks something he must personally look around for a replacement. Objects that are [425] found may not be appropriated by the finder, and if he nevertheless keeps them, he risks being labeled a thief. Whatever a person has owned in life /970/ remains his after his death. That is [768] why the belongings of a deceased person are burned and destroyed, inasmuch as no one could legally take them as his property. One does not even encroach upon a dead owner's right to his personal [428] property. The Yamana are unacquainted with the actual inheritance of anything whatever.

β. Family Property

422 593 Since every person owns his individual property, he also brings it with him into his marriage, without, however, giving up his exclusive right to it. He uses each article freely and without hindrance and replaces for himself anything and everything that has become unserviceable or is lost. As we have just said, one of the partners in marriage would not dare, at his own discretion, to dispose of an object belonging to the other partner.

423 593 When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

/970 cont./

423 593 members is visibly symbolized by the hut in which they all find shelter. The man and woman are simultaneously active in its construction, although he is obliged to do the heavier work and she the much easier light work. The children work, too, no matter how slight their participation is. In like manner, both spouses equally keep the hut in repair after it has been built. It is primarily the woman's duty to perform minor repairs. The skins needed to cover the hut framework are furnished by the man from hunting, while the woman dresses the skins. She stores and transports these pieces of leather in her canoe. No other articles are required as common property for the construction of the hut. Naturally, everyone, without discrimination, enjoys the benefit of the fire, since all the members of the family, in one way or another, see that it does not go out.

423 592 If, in an exceptional case, two or three families should erect a common dwelling (p. 32), they readily agree on the division of space, within which each one does as he pleases. If one family wanders off sooner than another, they take down their pieces of leather from the framework and load their own things into their canoe. The family that stays behind then closes off the space that they still want to occupy.

423 594 Only the husband or the wife has the right to permit this guest or that visitor to enter their hut. It is generally regarded as an encroachment to enter a hut without permission, although this is usually tacitly assumed. Once the family has given up their campsite /971/ and departed with their implements, the hut framework left behind is regarded as ownerless. Whoever first takes possession of it lawfully owns it and may settle in it undisturbed.

422 593 In a certain sense the various foods are also doubtless regarded as common property of the family, the idea being that the husband and the wife are obliged to seek food for themselves and the members of their family. The Fuegians' convictions concerning this obligation comes out most clearly when an indolent, lazy [604] man neglects his hunting and lets his family starve. The whole neighborhood expresses its displeasure, and the society even grants the wife the right to leave such a neglectful husband. The man collects meat for the whole family, and the woman gathers smaller animals for all her loved ones, indiscriminately, for

/971 cont./

422 593 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

422 593 192 The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē čkāli manāax ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajuin ex-uf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

422 593 264 576 Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

431 476 593 Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid; hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /978/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family hut from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

/972 cont./

431 Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain prerogative over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right
471 to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the members of
593 the family (385).

385. This opinion is clearly expressed in BD:319 in the explanation of the verb "mõtabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

422 For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark
593 canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife mans it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Ethn Yahgan Ethn

clubs, bola, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 30 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative trespass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 904-963) or, according to Koppers (1930 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather flintstone and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory. Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, fire, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-